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ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *hoco-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uka'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nixa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hpte xᵉdpominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *reyoni* or *deyoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waxgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waxgeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan 614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words 625 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the [196] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge [177] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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manegi divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village; 614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social 614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves 621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderbird, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the [114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no [582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

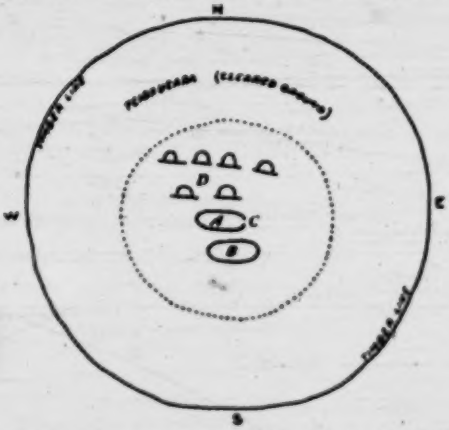

FIG. 31. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waŋgeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hųŋk wokų*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hųŋk wokų* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hųŋk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division.

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616 526 [173] As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of [171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 614 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names

A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonąʒiŋa waŋkrik*, war-people.
3. *teazeap*, eagle.
4. *rutege*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunic*, bear.
6. *cuŋktcuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktcexi*, water spirit.
8. *tca*, deer.
9. *hu"wa"*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *skaxaxa*, "Those-of-the-stage." This name is found in mythology.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5.

The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians. An Interpretation.[1]

By Paul Radin.

INTRODUCTION.

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The social organization of the Winnebago is based upon a twofold division of the tribe, which seems to represent an historically ultimate social grouping, not only for the Winnebago but likewise for a majority of the other Siouan tribes—the Dhegiha group,[2] the Tciwere group,[3] the Hidatsa, and the Mandan. What its original significance for these tribes was, it is now impossible to determine, for the different re-interpretations it has undergone necessarily preclude, in the absence of historical data, the possibility of satisfactorily demonstrating this point. As a matter of historical fact, we do not even know whether we are to regard the above social grouping as having been a common possession of these tribes before they parted company, or as having developed among one of them and subsequently spreading among the others. Could we unhesitatingly assume as criteria the tenacity with which these people adhere to this grouping when in contact with other groupings and the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship that seems to exist, at least between

[1] Based on notes in the private possession of the author.
[2] Includes Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw.
[3] Includes Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

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174 the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Teiwere, we would be compelled
616 to accept as true the former of these historical possibilities. Such, as a matter of fact, is probably the correct interpretation. However, it might properly be objected that the Mandan, certainly the Hidatsa, do not exhibit such an intimate cultural and linguistic relationship to the other tribes mentioned and yet exemplify the same social grouping; that it is found among the Creek and among a number of other tribes. The twofold grouping associated with exogamy has indeed developed frequently enough to justify us in including it in a consideration of historical possibilities.

Even were we to accept in toto the criteria of tenacity, how much does it tell us of social organization? The social unit is itself a complex, and it is absolutely essential to know whether it is the social unit as such, or some element of the complex, that is really the prime mover in the "tenacity" exhibited. A few examples will make this point clear. The Melanesian societies exclude women. They are, however, in all cases associated with religious and ceremonial observances in which women do not participate. Now, is the "tenacity" that the societies exhibit with regard to the exclusion of women an expression of the nature of a "society" or is it historically the reflex expression of the religious and ceremonial observances associated with it? Among the White-earth Ojibwa, an Englishman or an American who marries into the tribe is enrolled in two new clans, the Lion and the Eagle, these animals having become associated in the Indian mind as clan totems with the respective people. That is, all the manifold differences of social organization between the Ojibwa and the whites play an insignificant role as compared with a grouping apparently determined by "religious" criteria. Strangers, like Dakota, who have no animal associated with them, have among the Ojibwa no social status. Among the Winnebago, again, if a new clan were to be adopted among them, its connexion with one or the other of the divisions would depend upon its clan animal. If the clan animal was a bird, it would immediately be placed in one of the divisions; if any other animal, it would belong to the other division.

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These examples bring out quite forcibly the point made above, that the "tenacity" exhibited to-day or at any particular time is itself not a constant, for at different epochs different elements of the social unit may determine it. That, however, the twofold division of the Winnebago is a social-political grouping is, I believe, unquestionable, although to-day, to the minds of the Winnebago, not the social-political grouping, but one element—and probably one that has been secondarily associated with the original grouping—determines to what half a new clan shall belong.

These general considerations are of considerable importance in the study of Siouan culture, because we are there confronted with a specific application of the criteria of "tenacity" and quantitative resemblances. The twofold division of the tribe is found among the Winnebago, Dhegiha, Tciwere, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The Dhegiha and Tciwere show numerous cultural and specific sociological similarities to the Winnebago, and this, together with the intimate linguistic affiliation, makes it fairly certain that the twofold division goes back to a common origin. Difficulties in the interpretation appear, however, as soon as we approach the Hidatsa and Mandan, who present only general cultural similarities to the above-mentioned tribes, and among whom nevertheless a dichotomous social division exists. If dichotomy is the significant factor in the social organization of all these tribes, one might very well claim that here an example of the "tenacity" of social organization is to be found.

Such reasoning is, however, a typical example of a purely detached analytical interpretation. The essential characteristic of this social organization is not the dichotomy but the cultural complex-dichotomy, exogamy, specific names, and the functions of the two halves. Now, while it may be justifiable to consider this division as historically primary for the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, it does not follow, owing to the innumerable possibilities of the formation of a twofold division, that wherever such a division is found and a linguistic relationship can be demonstrated, we are dealing with a common cultural possession. These social organizations can only then be considered as com-

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parable when it can be demonstrated that the salient elements of the complex are the same. In the absence, however, of historical data, sameness at any given time may only mean sameness in the interpretation of the cultural phenomena by the people.

INTERPRETATION OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION AND THE CLANS.

We have assumed that the twofold division of the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere had a common historical origin, because this complex is the same in each case. As we have seen, our identification was based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Rigid proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very difinite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves, i.e., every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged, and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyse these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connexion. Among the Omaha they are known as *Ictacunda* and *Hanga*, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponka as *Wajaje* and *Tcinju*, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa as *Yata* and *Ictunga*, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as *Tcinju* and *Hanga*, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Oegiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hanga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not

[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjəra*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanga*cena division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanga* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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174 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the 616 Osage, the *Tcĳu* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tcĳu* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk'* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manqp'e*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

174 616 ### RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ųhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hytcxedcgominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *kokik'aradjɔra;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

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types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgerɛgi* and *maŋgegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 614 616 825 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeŋgi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 616 [582] [764] The only function that the *waŋgeŋgi* and *maŋegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeŋgi* man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeŋgi* man because, as a "land

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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąųegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąųegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąųegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąųegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

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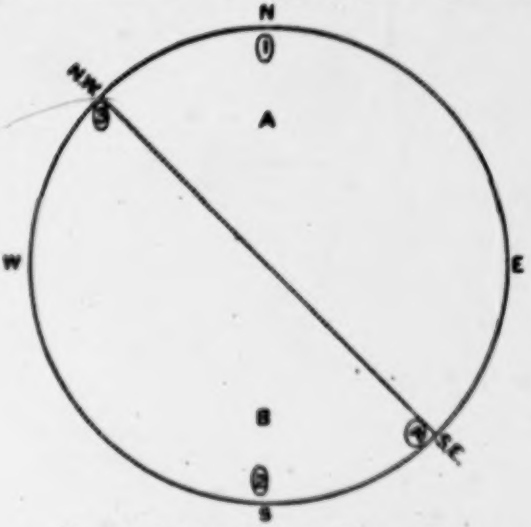

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Figure 1. A, *Mąųegi* side; B, *Waŋgeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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614 According to the majority of the older people, when the old
616 social organization was still intact, each village was divided
621 into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *maŋegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *maŋegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgerɛgi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk·wokq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk·wokq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgerɛgi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerɛgi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerɛgi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerɛgi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion
616 of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waneŋk' hokik'aradjara*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokik'aradjara*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋk'ik'*), the Eagle (*teaxcap'*), and Pigeon (*ruicge*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋktcuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*wakicexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*huwą*), Snake (*wak'ą*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mąŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*hereicy*), to the Warrior; (*manąpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
614 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found [174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being [171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
● 616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitakʻɔ́ɔ*). This always subsists between two, although it

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ'ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ɔ'ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waŋgeregi*, the other among the *maŋegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
[575] night-spirit (*haⁿhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

a. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the division of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people. 105 614 616

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more fundamental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the 105 614 616 622

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law
[778] and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.